1: Burrows--87
116, 618

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The name in commonest use for unilineal, exogamous descent groups like the kailang of Ifalik is 'clan.' Clan will be used here as the translation of kailang. Since the line of descent that determines membership here is matrilineal, this group would still be called a clan in the terminology formerly common among American anthropologists, whereby a patrilineal group was called a 'gens.'"

1: Burrows--87-88 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 173, 618 Ifalik

"The clans are not localized, --that is, most of them are represented in the population of all inhabited parts of the atoll. In fact, the same clans, or most of them, are found also on neighboring atolls. Woleai is said to have the same clans as Ifalik. I could not check this statement there, as we stopped at Woleai only on our way to Ifalik, before we knew the clan names. But a visiting chief from Woleai, hearing that the chiefs of Ifalik had given me their [88]legend about the settlement of both islands, asked that my account be read and translated to him. This legend (p. 151) gives names of traditional founders of all the clans. Thw Woleai chief was already familiar with most of them, and accepted without question the one or two which, he said, had been forgotten on Woleai. At Lamotrek, where we stopped on the return trip from Ifalik, I was given names of three clans; Sauvelārik, Mangaulevār, and Sauwēl. The names are the same as far as they go, and it is quite likely that the list is incomplete. On Elato, within sight of Lamotrek, the list given me was Kovalū, Savelārik, Mangaulevār, Kailangalualea, Sauwēl. Faraulep is also said to have the same clans, but the statement was not checked by inquiry there. The list obtained on Satawal was lost overboard, I recall one name in it which is evidently the same as an Ifalik name, though pronounced somewhat differently: Sauvelāchik. If memory can be trusted, there were one or two others; but certainly there were also some which had no apparent resemblance to Ifalik clan names. Satawal, then, seems to be on the border of distribution of these clans."

1: Burrows--88-89
116, 618, 162

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

1-2

"Because they are not localized, the descent groups on Ifalik would be called sibs in the terminology recently proposed by Murdock. However, localization is not an all-or-nothing characteristic. It may change in degree, and even appear or disappear in the same locality in the course of time. The degree of localization on Ifalik in 1947-48 is shown in the following table, made up from the census by households. Falālap island was treated as a unit, but Falārik island divided into the two districts of Rauau and Falārik, the commonest form of local subdivision in native practise. Children recorded as adopted in this census (corrected later from Spiro's genealogies), and natives of other islands married to Ifalik women, were not included. This because, although adoption is commonly within the clan, it is not always so, and there was doubt about the clan membership [sic] of some of the adopted children. As for natives of other islands, whatever their clan, their place of residence on Ifalik may not exemplify local practise. In another table prepared as a test, children listed as adopted were included, assigning them to the clan of the adopting mother unless membership in some other clan was known. This table, though discarded as less accurate, brought out the same pattern of minimal localization as the one that follows.

Clan Membership by Locality

1: Burrows--88-89 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 618, 162 Ifalik

	Falarik	Ranau	Falālap	Total
Kovalū..	2	25	17	45
Sauvelārik..	8	15	21	44
Mangaulevār..	20	11	23	54
Rapevelū..	0	12	6	18
Sauwēl..	7	12	4	23
Kailangailūk..	9	12	2	23
Bwēl..	0	0	11	11
Kailangalualea..	0	0	2	2

The general rule is clear, --that clans are not localized. All the members of two clans, however, live on Falālap. In the case of Kailangalualea this has no significance, as the clan is reduced to two (or three) members; a woman, her [89] daughter, and the latter's adopted daughter, whose clan membership is uncertain. Naturally, all three live in the same household."

1: Burrows--89 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 618 Ifalik

"The localization of the clan Bwēl, however, seems more than accidental. The name bwēl, as a common noun, means taro swamp. The clan Bwēl is especially associated with the cultivation of taro. Traditionally no others can equal them at horticulture. Since all but a few small patches of taro swamp are on Falālap, the localization of this clan there seems related to this traditional function. However, this showing is weakened by the fact that Bwēl, too, is a small clan, and all but one of its members belonged to a single household."

1: Burrows--89
116, 618

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"No other clan is associated with a particular plant or occupation. But the name of one of them suggests former localization: SauvelārIk. Two of the clan names, and a third on Sarfert's list, begin with 'sau'. This recalls a prefix which occurs in the names of certain descent groups in western Polynesia: Samoan Sā, Futunan Sa'a, Tongan and Uvean Ha'a. In the clan name Saupolowat, collected by Sarfert, the clan is said to have come from Puluwat. Accordingly, I asked whether SauvelārIk meant 'clan (or people) of Falārik'. Tom and another member of the clan--as I recall it, the chief Maroligar--said that it did. That this was not merely a matter of falling in with any such suggestion is shown by the fact that a similar question--whether Bwēl and Sauwēl were offshoots of one original clan--was answered in the negative. Of course, the answer of natives to any such question may be wrong. Yet the probability that the name indicated former localization of this clan seemed strong enough to be worth mentioning."

1: Burrows--89-90 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 618, 565 Ifalik

"Names of some of the other clans connote rank rather than locality. There is a recognized order of rank for those clans within which chiefly titles are hereditary, corresponding to the order of the chiefs who hold these titles. Clans that have no title rank below those that have, but apparently in no particular order.

Below are listed the clans, in order of rank as far as possible, with what was learned about the meaning of their names, and any special attributes:

1. Kovalū: Ko is said to mean something like 'chief' or ruler, though the ordinary word for chief is tamōl. Valū means 'land' or 'island'. The word is said to be not only the name of the clan, but also the title of the highest ranking chief, who is of this clan. However, the chief is rarely, if ever, addressed or referred to as Kovalū. This clan has first claim on all turtles.
2. SauvelārIk. People of FalārIk. This is the only clan that has two chiefly titles. They rank No. 2 and No. 4. It has first claim on all yellow-fin tuna. Tom, a member of this clan and inclined to make the most of its importance, said that SauvelārIk, through the higher of its two chiefs, has charge of the lagoon and of fishing. The response of the chiefs when asked about this claim is discussed on pp. 140 and 141.
3. Mangaulevār: Translated by Tom as 'more high' (in rank). Title of the No. 3. chief.
4. Rapevelū: Title of the No. 5 chief. Rape translated by Tom as 'all same tamōl';

like ko, but less exalted. Velū is 'land' or 'island', the same as valū in kovalū.

5-8. (As noted, the following clans, which have no chiefly titles, seem to have no particular order of rank except that all are subordinate to the preceding four.)

Sauwēl. The name was not translated. Sarfert's statement that this clan [90] came from Woleai suggests that the name might mean 'people of Woleai'; but this is inconsistent with the Ifalik legend of repopulation of Woleai, and was denied. Another suggestion, that the name might mean 'people of the taro swamp', and so be a variant of Bwēl, was also rejected. 'Just name', Tom said. The traditional function of this clan is to run errands and carry out orders for the chiefs. Tom said 'all same policeman.' The only reflection of this noted in practise was that an old man of this clan living in Falārik district was said to be a sort of petty chief, the only instance of such a position. He did not meet with the chiefs, nor sit with them at public assemblies. No case was observed in which he exercised his authority. But then, he was very old, and correspondingly inactive.

Bwēl: Taro swamp. Traditionally the expert gardeners. No more active in routine gardening, however, than members of other clans.

Kailangailuk: The name was not translated, nor any special characteristics attributed to this clan.

Kailangalualea: No translation obtained, nor any special attributes. This clan seems on the point of extinction in Ifalik. The members were a woman and her widowed daughter, perhaps also the latter's adopted daughter. If this girl has children, and they are ascribed to Kailangalualea, the clan will continue; otherwise it will die out with this generation. On Elato the highest ranking chief, in February, 1948, was of this clan.

The difference in rank among clans is a source of pride to those whose clan membership gives them some claim to superiority. This confers no practical privileges, however, except for Kovalū's right to turtles and Sauvelārlk's to yellow-fin tuna."

1: Burrows--90-91 (1947-48) Woleaians I-2
116, 618, 565 Ifalik

"In one important respect the relative rank of clans seems to be reflected in behavior. This is in choice of a mate.

The following list shows intermarriages between clans, as represented by the married couples living on Ifalik during our stay, except for four cases in doubt because of adoption. Kailangalualea does not appear in the table because the two certain members of this clan were widows. No attempt was made to learn the clan membership of the former spouses of widows and widowers.

Clan	Kovalū	SauvelārIk	Mangaulevār	Rapevelū	Sauwel	Kailang-ailuk	Bwel
Kovalu	x	10	6	1	1	4	1
SauvelārIk	10	x	7	3	3	0	0
Mangaulevār	6	7	x	1	7	6	1
Rapevelū	1	3	1	x	0	0	0
Sauwel	1	3	7	0	x	4	1
Kailangailuk	4	0	6	0	4	x	0
Bwel	1	0	1	0	1	0	x

Marriages between members of two title-holding clans (upper left quadrant of the table) total 28; between a member of a title-holding and a member of a titleless clan (lower left or upper right quadrant), 23; between two members of titleless clans, 5. It is true

that the number of marriages is correlated with [91] relative numerical strength of the clans as well as with relative rank. Membership of the four title-holding clans, excluding cases in doubt because of adoption, totalled 161; membership of the four titleless clans, 69. But this correlation between rank and numbers is itself another suggestion that clan rank may be a factor in selection of a mate. It is clear, though, that the apparent tendency to marry into a title-holding clan if possible does not amount to segregation or class endogamy. For instance, the highest-ranking clan of all, Kovalū, is allied by marriage with all the other clans."

1: Burrows--91
116, 618, 773

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"No trace of totemism appears. The only connections between particular clans and creatures other than human are those mentioned: the right of Kovalū to turtles, or SauvelārIk to yellow-fin tuna, and the association of Bwel with taro. The first two are nearly the opposite of the food tabus commonly associated with totem creatures. They are special privileges of these highest ranking clans with regard to particularly prized kinds of food. The association of Bwel with taro is different. It has more the look of a sentence to hard labor for this low-ranking clan, sweetened by flattery. Neither turtle nor tuna nor taro were used as symbols of the clans associated with them. Nor were any myths found about descent from non-human creatures, supernatural help from them, or any other traditional relationship."

1: Burrows--91-92
116, 618, 175

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

1-2

"Damm gives, from Sarfert's notes, a list of 10 clans from Ifalik, only four of which correspond to the eight which are there now. My work with census and legends, and Spiro's with genealogies, provide so many cross-checks, including clan membership of every individual, that there is no possibility of error in our list of the eight clans. It seems that there must have been some misunderstanding between Sarfert and his informants or his interpreter. Below is the list collected by Sarfert, with his notation about place of origin. To the right are the comments of Wolpaitik, the only chief who happened to be in the canoe-house when I took Sarfert's list there, and of Tom. The order is changed so that the four names which refer to clans now functioning on Ifalik come first.

Clan name	Sarfert's Comment	Comment of Wolpaitik & Tom
Sauwalei	Called on Ifalik Saufalasik.	Apparently Sauvelārlk. Other name unknown on Ifalik.
Monaulifer	From Yap.	Mangaulevār. Origin accords with legends collected in 1947.
Bwol	From Pulap.	Bwēl. Origin mistaken. My informants thought that Pulap must have been written by mistake for pulax, the commonest kind of taro, because of the association of this clan with taro cultivation.

Clan name	Sarfert's Comment	Comment of Wolpaitik & Tom
Sauwol	From Woleai.	Sauwēl. Origin incorrect. ' 'E talk lie', said Tom; Sauwēl like all the other clans, went to Woleai from Ifalik, not the other way. (See legends and discussion, pp. 139 ff.).
Saupolowat	From Puluwat.	Once represented on Ifalik. Died out long ago.
Wisusu	From Puluwat.	A clan of Puluwat and Truk. Never represented on Ifalik. [92]
Fanimei) Gadaman) Wolei)	From Yap.	Never represented on Ifalik.
Wuido	Called Djak.	Never represented on Ifalik."

1: Burrows--92 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 618 Ifalik

"Conceptually and verbally, the clans are important units on Ifalik. The feeling of clan membership and solidarity is strong. People generally know the clan membership of everyone on the island, or nearly everyone. One of the commandments or exhortations that form a conventional part of the chief's speeches at public assemblies, is 'Do not speak evil of people of another clan.' Some of the chiefs in such exhortations address particularly the people of their own clan. Travelers from Ifalik are said to feel perfectly free to claim hospitality from their clansfolk in neighboring islands, and to reciprocate without question when clansfolk of other islands come to Ifalik, whether the claim is reinforced by previous acquaintance or not.

Yet clans never meet or act as units. Their only important effects on conduct seem to be the limitation they impose on marriage, and--a much weaker one--the effect of their rank on choice of a mate. House sites and chiefly titles are said to belong to clans, but actually are held and transmitted in the smaller groups to be discussed later (pp. 96-98)."

1: Burrows--108 (1947-48) Woleaians #1
116, 423, 643, 618 Ifalik

"Asked whether there is such a thing as clan property, Tom said there is. The reef and the lagoon, he declared, belong to his clan, SauvelārIk. Members of other clans fish there only on sufferance. Now Tom was always inclined to make the most of any claim to distinction in which he could share, whether the distinction was his own exclusively, or that of his clan, or that of Ifalik as against other islands. I asked him whether other clans had similar claims. He was not sure, and, as usual, referred the question to the chiefs. The first to hand were Maroligar and Toroman. They talked it over, but did not give me an answer. 'Some other chief', Tom explained, 'might say 'This chief, 'e lie'.'

All five chiefs then held a meeting and discussed the question long and vehemently. Then they issued, through Tom, an official answer. No clan, neither SauvelārIk or any other, they declared, has exclusive claim to the use of reef and lagoon. They belong to all the chiefs. Ordinarily it is all right for anyone to use them; but if there is a shortage, as during the time after a hurricane, the chiefs may say 'Only eat a little'; in other words, may ration what food there is.*

"* As this decision was an act of the government, it will be discussed again from that point of view."

This pronouncement did not dispose of the question of clan property other than the reef and lagoon. It was not until later that I learned of the exclusive right of Kovalū clan to turtle, and of SauvelārIk to yellow-fin tuna. These were the only cases found of exclusive claims to property on the part of clans. Actually, these are not instances of ownership in the ordinary sense, but prerogatives of rank; for these two clans hold the highest chiefly titles."

1: Burrows--116-117 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 618, 463 Ifalik

"Traditionally, two clans, as noted under 'Social Structure', have special occupations; Bwèl, that of horticulture; Sabwēl, that of running errands [117] and carrying out orders for the chiefs. Whatever practical importance these specialties may have had at some former time, in 1947-8 they were purely nominal. Members of these clans put in their time no differently from anybody else."

"Maroligar took charge of the bonito drives in the lagoon, in which the whole population took part. My question about the meaning of this, in terms of division of authority, led to a discussion which is all I have in the way of evidence on the formation of policy. So it will be discussed in the following section.

Formulation of Rules

Concrete evidence as to the initiation of rules of conduct is scanty to very near the vanishing point. The rules are traditional, and their origin is lost in the past. On that point, I can not improve on Tom's answer to all such questions: 'blong before'.

The one possible glimpse of how rules are modified was the answer to my question about Maroligar's authority over the bonito drives. Tom, always the most convenient source of information, was asked first. He said that SauvelārIk clan has charge of the reef and the lagoon. While ordinarily members of other clans are allowed to fish there, they do so only on sufferance, said he. Supervision of the bonito drive by Maroligar, senior SauvelārIk chief, was one manifestation of this general prerogative.

Asked if other clans had similar rights, Tom said he did not know, and suggested referring the question to the chiefs. That was obviously the thing to do anyway; for while his statement sounded plausible, it was suspect because of [141] his continual attempts to lay claim to glory, whether by way of his membership in SauvelārIk clan or by any other means that occurred to him.

At the moment only two chiefs were available; Maroligar and Toromann. The question was referred to them. They talked it over and decided to submit it to all the chiefs. Their reason, Tom explained, was 'Some other chief might say 'This chief 'e lie'.' Plainly this claim of one clan to special authority was a touchy matter.

Next day all five chiefs discussed the question long and seriously. This fact strengthens my suspicion that Tom's statement had some foundation. Otherwise, presumably, they would have dismissed it at once. But their answer gave no suggestion of this. They instructed Tom to tell me that the reef and lagoon belong to all five chiefs together, not to any one clan. Ordinarily it is permissible for anyone to use them. But if the chiefs decide to restrict their use, fishing can be carried on only by their permission. It is the same with the land, they said (disregarding an important difference, that arable land is divided into patches, owned by separate lineages). Ordinarily people may eat the fruits of the land as they please. But in time of shortage--for example, after a hurricane--the chiefs may say 'Only eat a little.' In other words, the chiefs asserted their authority to ration food.

If this answer, as I suspect but can not prove, involved abrogation of a traditional allotment of authority to one clan, it would constitute legislation by the chiefs. Whether this is indeed an instance or not, the obvious way, and the only apparent way in which rules can be modified or new rules initiated under this form of government, is by decree of the chiefs after such discussions. When a situation arises which is not covered by

the rules, or not covered satisfactorily, the chiefs will have to decide it according to their best judgment. Their decision will constitute a precedent, to stand until some new problem requires further modification."

1: Burrows--153
116, 173, 618

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The clans represented by the colonizers, as told to me, are the same as those found on Ifalik during our stay. They differ widely from Sarfert's list of clans. I would be inclined to reject Sarfert's list, whereever it differs from mine, except for one thing; that my informants admitted the former existence on Ifalik of one of the clans he named--Saupuluwat. The name suggests that this clan came from Puluwat rather than Yap. Sarfert also mentions later arrivals from Woleai and Faraulep; such a voyage from Puluwat might account for the presence of this clan. However, as already said in the discussion of social structure, several other clan names listed by Sarfert were, according to my informants, never represented on Ifalik.

Another kind of early arrival mentioned by Sarfert was 'very large devils in human form, so thorny that big fish were speared on their bodies. They swam to the island, but when they did not find any food, they went peacefully away again.' Though no such episode was told to me, I see no reason to question the existence of such a tradition, at least at the time of Sarfert's visit."

28: Spiro--11 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 631, 173, 618 Ifalik

"Though subservient to Gagil, Ifaluk enjoys a position of high prestige vis a vis the other small islands in the Yap district, for, aside from Mogmog, it occupies the highest rung on the political ladder, and it is one they are very jealous of. Again, two variant traditions account for this high position. Ifaluk has great prestige, the chiefs informed me, because of its seniority in creation. On the other hand, Dr. Burrows collected some legends which purport to explain Ifaluk's ascendancey, and which parallel the reason for Yap's ascendance over Ifaluk. These legends tell of Ifaluk having had wars with the outlying islands, each war for a different cause, in the course of which Ifaluk took the the occasion to massacre the entire populations of the various islands, and a man and woman from each clan were chosen to settle on the depopulated islands. As a result the population and culture of the islands are derived from Ifaluk, so that Ifaluk is the mother country to the other islands.

The historicity of these stories, obviously, can not be validated. It is true, however, that the peoples on the various islands speak identical languages, and, as far as we could check, have quite similar, if not identical, cultures. Particularly important is the identity of social organization, so that the same clans are found on all the islands, and inter-island marriage, which is not infrequent, is governed by the same clan exogamy as intra-island."

28: Spiro--48 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 773, 618 Ifalik

"Autran is not only the creator goddess, she is culture hero as well. After creating man she taught him the use of fire, the preparation of food, and the construction of canoes, fish nets and houses. She also instituted the incest taboos, taught the people a sense of sexual shame and gave them lavalavas, and instituted the various clans. (4) Construction work was first taught her by Aluelap, after which she taught this skill to the people."

"4. The chiefs pointed out that the institution of the clans was a great boon. For if she had not created the various clans (ailang), 'all people belong to one ailang, then no one copulate.' This is very interesting reasoning and is an excellent example of how deeply rooted are cultural institutions. The concept of the clan is so deeply rooted that the chiefs cannot conceive of society without clans. Thus, if there were no clans, it would be necessarily follow, in their minds, that there would be one clan; and since every person would belong to the same clan, there could be no intercourse, given the taboo of clan endogamy."